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The Passing Show.

All workers are slaves under Capitalism. The slavery only differs in degree.

While the slavery is bearable we must have industrial unrest; when it becomes unbearable we must have revolution.

Many parsons are turning press writers and politicians in Britain. They will serve the exploiters in their new sphere as in the old.

It is a peculiar world that approves of the worker being deprived of most of his product and shrieks in horror if he objects.

It is foolish to hope slavery in the hope that some day you may become a master.

"Sydney Morning Herald" says both Mr. Cook and Mr. Fisher commenced their parliamentary careers as labor members. Thank goodness we know the similarity between them at last.

The time when workers think hardest and best is when they are unemployed. When they are employed they are too busy piling up profits for the bosses.

On the surface Capitalism appears to be a healthy system, but it is nevertheless being destroyed by Doubt. Every thinking person has doubts about it.

A day's job-hunting frequently does a worker more good than reading a dozen of Fisher's speeches. Such an experience is enough to disgust any sensible, self-respecting man with the wage system and the hawking of labor-power.

It is a peculiar world that has poor workers and rich shirkers, and it is an immoral one that despises the former and respects the latter.

Soldiers are the slaves of the pirate class. It is their function to shoot and stab workers who attempt to use the means of production without permission.

Huerta, the tool of European interests, was willing to leave Mexico when the masters saw they couldn't use him any more. The masters kindly assisted him to get away with his swag of loot and incriminating documents.

An old saw says, "An honest man is the noblest work of God," but if that's so, God made the honest one look deuced poor compared with the other fellow.

The function of the rich in war time is to provide bullets to be fired at the working class; the function of the workers is to see how many bullets they can stop.

When you can't find work and the grocer stops your credit and the children cry for something to eat, just explain to them that Joe Cook and Andy Fisher are fighting each other for the right to put things right, and of course they'll stop crying right away. If they don't, just wait until after the elections to see if your position is not greatly improved.

Dave Watkins, Federal Labor candidate for Newcastle, was recently denouncing the trusts and combines as the grabbers of the country and its industries, when a miner asked him if he was in favor of conscription. Dave hurriedly jumped in to the trap, and shouted "Yes," with much emphasis. "Then," said the querist, "you are in favor of training the workers' sons to defend the property of the trusts. Why not let them defend their own?"

The question of Home Rule for Ireland has served to still further becloud the mind of the average Christian as to the attributes and wishes of the Deity. The Anglicans of Sydney, led by Archbishop Wright, are positive that Jehovah is against Home Rule, while Archbishop Kelly is just as positive that he is for it.



After the Premiership.

The Tories of the Empire, as a party, are dead against Home Rule, so that Dr. Wright's contention seems based on the belief that God is an out and out Tory. Archbishop Kelly repudiates this view, and holds that the Almighty is an Irish Catholic with Liberal principles and Home Rule for Ireland as a first plank in his platform. Dr. Wright's party is backing its opinion with a monster petition against Home Rule, which seems to imply that after all the party has either overlooked or doubts the efficacy of prayer and supplication as a means of proving the truth and strength of their side.

In connection with the article on page 2 in this issue, on "The Savage in Society," it is interesting to note that wealthy "educated" Sydney ladies carry pet dogs and perfume the "dear pets." They are very "precious," these little "darlings," and if by any chance the "dear one's" tails get trodden on their mistresses are ready to collapse with grief or indignation. At Homebush sale yards, where motor cars and pet dogs are much in evidence, cattle trains are constantly arriving with truckloads of mutilated, dead, and dying sheep and cattle. In one day recently 780 head of stock were found dead, and of one consignment of 120 head of cattle, 95 died of injuries received on the journey. During the last two years 32,000 sheep and 1300 cattle have been brutally done to death on the railways, while pet poodles have been perfumed and petted by the women of the class which makes money out of the meat trade.

Wade, the windy and wonderful leader of the N.S.W. Liberals, has been writing articles in the papers criticising Premier Holman's policy speech. According to Wade, it is wretchedly poor policy, the best of it having been stolen from the Liberals. He reckons that the leaders of the Libs. and the Labs. should fuse as there is really no vital difference between them. Willie, however, may be relied upon to continue the sham fight until it is no longer possible to hoodwink the workers in the unions and P. L. L.

N.S.W. Orangemen have resolved to support the Liberals in the coming elections, because the Labor Party is favorable to Home Rule. Home Rule is a Liberal measure, and is bitterly opposed by British Tories, so that when the Labor Party here supports Home Rule it is supporting British Liberalism, while the Orangemen who oppose it are supporting the Tories. When the Orangemen, therefore, support Joe Cook's party and the Tory Party of Britain, they seem to recognize that Joe and his following aren't Liberals at all, but Tories.

Queensland Labor Member J. T. Gilday, specially distinguished himself at a Roman Catholic stone-laying ceremony up North recently. In seconding a vote of thanks to Archbishop Duhig, Gilday said "he looked on Father Lee as a great asset to the district, for his energy had a tendency to increase the value of its property." Finlayson, M.H.R., spoke in support, and said "there were three constituents which determined the character of a community. They were its churches,

its schools, and its homes. Their noblest duty was in looking after their children, and Father Lee, by his energy and good work, had won the hearts of his people." According to these two worthies, to increase the value of property and build as many churches as possible is the first duty of Queensland workers. Verily, the day of emancipation is not yet, for the opinions of the cave men are still current.

While both Fisher and Cook are making hollow election promises to amend the Conscription Act, batches of 100 or more boys are being fined and imprisoned by magistrates at the Sydney Central Police Court. The boys are said to be "as keen as mustard on drill," but the number prosecuted seems to indicate that the keenness is displayed in getting out of it. While boys of 16 are punished by solitary confinement in order to make them drill the piecemeal promises of politicians who are the tools of the War Trust, are considerably discounted.

The Kink has contributed £1000, and the Prince of Wales £1000 towards the cost of a Church at Kennington Cross. One Kink supports another. In history they have always been good friends and mutual backscratchers.

The Roman Catholics of Preston, England, recently resolved to walk in procession with a figure of the Virgin Mary at their head. The police warned the leaders, but they insisted, and soon the town was full of religion, and disorder. Extra police were rushed to the scene, and it took the force all their time to stop the Catholics and Protestants from murdering and eating each other. How they did love one another! Both sides fought for Christianity—the religion of love!

A "roll of honor" has been prepared in London for the Capetown Cathedral at a cost of £500. It took two years to write and contains the names of 22,000 men who were killed in the Boer War. Posterity will probably regard the roll as a peculiar evidence of Capitalist roll and piety.

Eugene Brieux, a famous French author, has written a book describing a visit he paid to Java, China, Corea, and Japan. Of Japan, Australia's principal bogey, he says: "Industrial development here, as elsewhere, has created Socialism, and misery has given birth to revolt. In Tokio alone the number of men out of work often exceeds 100,000." These men, he says, have nothing to do but to suffer and be unhappy. They have no fear of death, and are fit for anything desperate. Yet, if necessary, they would give up life willingly for "their beloved country."

N.S.W. Labor Government banquetted the Governor-General on July 23. The scene was described as a brilliant one by the press, and was attended by most of the nobles of the State, and also by many Labor members, who, of course, were there as a matter of duty, and not because they enjoyed the company of wealthy Liberals.

"The young man," says Emerson, "on

entering life finds the way to lucrative employment blocked with abuses. The ways of trade have grown selfish to the borders of theft and supple to the borders (if not beyond the borders) of fraud. A tender and delicate conscience is a disqualification for success." That is why the young man is beginning to see that there is something fundamentally wrong with the system.

R. L. Baker, of the Sydney Stadium, considers the fact that not one of the boys applying for admission to his boxing class failed to pass the doctor is largely due to compulsory training. The statement shows that Baker possesses a fair amount of shrewdness. He knows very well that only physically fit boys would apply to join his class, and that their fitness for prize-fighting is more due to nature than to the few hours' drill which they have received during the last couple of years. But Baker sees that his business interests are identical with those of the militarists who are boosting compulsory training as a means of promoting physical fitness, so Baker runs with the swashbucklers and the National Service League.

A coroner's jury at Broken Hill, after hearing the evidence, declared that Michael O'Neill, the ninth victim this year, "died from injuries accidentally received in the North Mine; further, that his death was due to the gross negligence of the North Mine Company in not providing sufficient bearers to carry the weight required." The word "accidentally" should have been left out of the jury's verdict, if the Company's negligence is to be viewed in its proper perspective. When profit mongering reaches the stage that it has in the Barrier mines it should not be glossed over. It should be known for what it is—butchering of the workers.

Maitland miners to the number of 519 have been fined £4 each for striking. This has been done under the Labor Party's Industrial Arbitration Act. Meanwhile, other workers are enthusiastically listening upon the benefits of Labor legislation, curious, isn't it?

St. Petersburg, Russia, is in the throes of revolution. There are nearly 200,000 men on strike and idle, and the streets are swarming with police and cossacks. Fighting has taken place in the Viborg quarter and barricades have been erected in the streets. Many of the police and strikers have been injured, and the Czar and his fabled entourage are having a torrid time generally.

Maurice Blackburn, late editor Melbourne "Socialist," has been returned in the Labor Party's interest for Essendon, the State seat vacated by Willie Watt. We can see now why Blackburn used the paper to promote why Blackburn.

Andy Fisher promises, if returned to power, to raise the tariff in the interests of the manufacturers, who, to a man, are either members of, or with, the Employers' Association. Still the boneheads in the Labor Party whoop for Andy.

The slaves of Austria and Serbia, who are in this and other parts of the world, are being invited to roll up and join in the bullet-stopping game. Our advice is—Don't be Mugs, stay where you are, and let the boneheads fight.

The following prayer is used in both Houses of the Federal Parliament at the opening of each day's sitting:

"Almighty God, we humbly beseech Thee to vouchsafe Thy special blessing upon this Parliament, and that Thou wouldst be pleased to direct and prosper the work of Thy servants to the advancement of Thy glory and the true welfare of the people of Australia." After the prayer is read, the devil is let loose, and the fun commences.

When you have finished with this paper, pass it on to a friend.

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The small manufacturer or shopkeeper stays in business only as long as the big fellow lets him. When the big fellow is ready he tells the small man to get out and look for a job.

The Savage in Society.

In a lecture on "The Scope of Social Anthropology," Professor Frazer well says—

"In civilised society educated people are not even aware of the extent to which . . . relics of savage ignorance survive at their doors. . . . Systematic inquiries carried on among the less educated classes, and especially among the peasantry, of Europe have revealed the astonishing, nay, alarming truth, that a mass, if not the majority, of people in every civilised country is still living in a state of intellectual savagery; that, in fact, the smooth surface of cultured society is sapped and mined by superstition. Only those whose duties have led them to investigate the subject are aware of the depth to which the ground beneath our feet is thus, as it were, honeycombed by unseen forces. We appear to be standing on a volcano, which may at any moment break out in smoke and fire to spread ruin and devastation among the gardens and palaces of ancient culture wrought so laboriously by the hands of many generations."

When he wrote the above, Professor Frazer had in mind the more glaring superstitions and savage survivals that are found among the peasantry of Europe, but his remarks apply to a much wider area. They apply to the "educated" classes as well as the uneducated. The superstitions may not be as gross in the one case as in the other, but they are there all the same, and being there, they form part of the intellectual savagery of our time.

A slight study of the daily press will reveal the fact that there are, as Professor Huxley once said, as benighted savages in large cities as there are in any part of Central Africa, or the unexplored parts of Australia. The press teems with evidences of intellectual savagery. Not only is this so in the columns given up to sport, but in the social religious, and editorial matter served up in sober earnestness as tending to the general uplift of humankind. In the advertising columns fortune-tellers, prophets and palmists, jostle each other and a heterogeneous collection of fakirs in the higher walks of human exploitation. In the "cultured" West End of London there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of fortune-tellers and professional "occultists." Their clientele is not made up of uneducated, but of educated people. It is the same in all large cities. In the case of the savage or uneducated person, we see the superstition in the raw, so to speak, but in the educated man it is glossed over with a few scientific and philosophic terms.

Many people, when they see superstitious customs and savage survivals in our midst, smile pityingly, and then dismiss the sub-

ject from their minds. But the matter is too grave to be lightly set aside. It is symptomatic of one of the dangers that confront those who are aiming at a better system than the present. Professor Frazer says that "the community is really dominated by the will of an enlightened minority," and that "the higher human intelligence sways the lower, just as the intelligence of man gives him mastery over the brutes," but this is true only up to a certain point. The more intelligent few cannot progress any faster than the savage majority will allow them to, and there are many historical instances that show that the savage majority have got out of hand and turned progress in a new direction.

It cannot be said that the early Christians were more enlightened than were the writers and leaders of Pagan Roman Society, yet the early Christians eventually dominated that society, and brought Roman civilisation to ruin. The early Christians simply appealed for support to a mass of superstition that was then current in Roman society. The same thing has happened in many revolutions in various parts of the world.

What has occurred once may occur again. The presence of savagery and superstition in our midst affords the reactionary his opportunity for an appeal, and in a small way this appeal is constantly being made. Men are being jailed for speaking in the streets, boys are punished for refusing to drill to defend the property of the owning class, and "intellectual" subjects are not allowed to be discussed on a Sunday—an encroachment by a Sabbatarianism which is a direct survival of the savage principle of taboo.

The dominant capitalist class whose interests and influence is threatened by the spread of real education, may be expected to make a final appeal to the floating and stagnant mass of superstition that exists around us. Whether that appeal will be successful or not need not be discussed here, but the possibility of its being made is always with us, and while that is the case society is indeed "standing on a volcano." Fortunately, the power of the capitalist church for evil is waning, but there is still the mighty factor of the poisonous capitalist press, which is encouraging the belief in such gross forms of superstition as Christianity, gambling, luck, party politics, and every form of human exploitation. By the reader of the daily press scientific truths are accepted, but not assimilated. They become no organic part of the mental life. This type of mind is a reservoir of superstition upon which the reactionist is always able to draw. It is the one real danger that confronts the Socialist propagandist.

Many ancient civilisations perished through being overrun by savages. This danger always confronted the enlightened of ancient Rome. This was the danger that confronted the builders of the great wall of China. But the men and women of old overlooked the danger within, and in time that oversight proved fatal. As it was with them, so it is with us. We are guarding against external savages who are said to threaten a barbarous invasion, but we encourage the savage in our midst who has the ground honeycombed beneath our feet.

The upper class thugs and bourgeois bugs to whom the proletarian savages of Europe respond only too readily, justify their murderous militarism as follows:—Each nation is like a householder who has to arm himself to guard his riches from thieves. As a matter of fact even in the communal life of the semi-savage European nations, this is not altogether the case. But in communities we have a very different state of things to that of governments. A community consists of millions of fairly honest people against whom no special precautions have to be taken. There is only a handful of criminals to be guarded against. There are in the world only a handful of important states and governments. Who then is the criminal against whom their governments have to arm to the teeth to defend themselves? The governments each and all of them reply at once: "We, the governments are each and all of us the thieves and murderers we have mutually to defend ourselves against." Thus they stand condemned out of their own mouths. In other words, the governments force the people to arm to the teeth just because they themselves, the governments, consist exclusively of thieves and murderers.

—Sir W. W. STRICKLAND.

General Huerta, the retiring president of Mexico, makes a striking allusion to the growth of Socialism. After referring to the action of the American government in capturing Vera Cruz, he says that later, strong workers would come who undoubtedly would end the power which had committed so many outrages upon the American continent. Huerta was merely the creature of capitalist interests, but when plunderers get into controversy sometimes the truth is spoken. This official recognition of the fate that is in store for the capitalist government of the United States is at least interesting.

The Class Struggle.

Every day those who deny the class struggle find it more difficult to hold their own against the siege-guns of fact. When it is seen that no differences of religion, no political barrier, no race hatred, or sex jealousies, can keep the masters of the world from joining hands in a struggle with the workers, it is clearly enough demonstrated that the Class Struggle is on. When it is observed that common religion, common race, common politics, and common sex fail to save the workers in the industrial strife, again it is clearly enough demonstrated that the Class Struggle is on. When it is seen that in every case of resort to the armed forces in the name of "law and order," those armed forces, those pitiless weapons, are turned always toward the workers, still again it is proved that the Class Struggle is on. So are we confirmed in the very foundation of our policy.

And when it is seen how helpless the workers are everywhere in face of the organised forces of repression, how even the best equipped and most desperate are compelled to surrender and go to prison without firing a shot because they know the futility of attempting to withstand the forces controlled by Parliament, then the necessity for obtaining control of that political machinery as the essential preliminary to taking possession of the means of life is irresistibly borne in upon the intelligent. Thus are we being supported by current events in our insistence upon the extreme importance of the political weapon.

Perhaps the most significant feature of events to-day is that those who reject the political weapon in favor of what they are pleased to call "direct action," make no headway. Everywhere their earlier efforts have been their most successful, or rather, their least inglorious. It is ever the capitalist authorities that gain by experience. Each recurring attempt at "direct action" finds the master class more easily able to deal with it. Wherever Syndicalism springs up this is so, and appealing only to ignorance, having no support of scientific knowledge, having nothing but the effects of "direct action" to sustain it, it must automatically cure its victims with its succession of ghastly failures.

The Socialist Party, firmly founded on the Class Struggle, holding resolutely to the need for the workers to advance their emancipation through the conquest of the political machinery, is the hope of the working class. Its Class Struggle foundation keeps it free from those who would have one foot in the capitalist camp; its political policy prevents it from leaning on any but class conscious workers. Hence it cannot be betrayed by ambitious misleaders on the one hand or experience defeats on the other. So when the bitterness of disappointment eats into the hearts and saps the courage of those who are burning their fingers and cutting them with edged tools, the Socialist Party will stand between them and despair, as the only party that has consistently fought for Socialism, the only party that has never confused the issue by compromising with the masters, the only party that has never led the workers into the morass of confusion, the only party that has never tasted defeat, but has gone steadily on from victory to victory, as it has gone steadily on from strength to strength.

This is one of the first of our reasons for opposing those misguided people of our class, utterly without reference to what their intentions may be, who are spending their energies in the vain pursuit of error. The time will come when error presents no further possibilities to be exhausted. Well then, for the working class, that they can find one policy that they have never tried, one path they have never trodden, one weapon they have never found fail them—the policy and path of the Socialist Party—the weapon of political action on class conscious, uncompromising, revolutionary lines.

So we go on as we have gone on, declaring that the only way is by the capture of the political machinery by means of the ballot, by the organised, politically educated workers. This implies that the first need is to politically educate and organise the workers. In the pursuit of which purpose the first essential is to adopt such a policy of stern opposition to all other political parties and objects as should leave no doubt as to what the issue is or who the enemy are, and make clear the class nature of the fight.—"The Socialist Standard."

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FINANCIAL INTERVENTION IN MEXICO.

By William English Walling.

It is now widely recognised that intervention in Mexico is an accomplished fact. The governments of the United States and Europe have not intervened, but American and European capitalists finance all governments and all revolutionary movements that are big enough to be worth financing.

It could not be otherwise. For the foreigners own Mexico. This is not a figure of speech, but a literal fact. Statistics quoted by Senator Fall show that foreigners own:

Two-thirds of the total wealth of Mexico;
Two-thirds of Mexico's factories; and
Two-thirds of Mexico's forests.

But this is by no means the most significant part of the situation. Railways are always even more important than their enormous capital implies. Especially is this true in an undeveloped country like Mexico. Yet measured by capital alone, Mexican railways absorb 40 per cent. of Mexican wealth. And after railways in such a country come mines, banks and government loans. Mines account for 15 per cent. of Mexico's wealth, even if we do not attempt to reckon the enormous value of her oil fields, while banks account for 12 per cent. and government loans for 8 per cent. In view of this, consider the immense significance of the following facts:

Foreigners own—
80 per cent. of Mexico's railway capital;
96 per cent. of the Mexican mines;
70 per cent. of Mexican banking capital;
90 per cent. of Mexican Government loans.

The rest of the story of the plunder of the Mexican people can be briefly told. The only industry of importance in the hands of Mexicans is agriculture. But the total value of Mexican farms, ranches and cattle is reckoned at 129,000,000 dollars, or 5 per cent. of the national wealth. Even here 22,000,000 dollars worth are owned by foreigners, while wealthy Mexican favorites of Diaz, Madero and Huerta probably hold the larger part of what remains—the Creels and the Terrazas alone, before they were driven out by Villa, accounted for many millions each.

Several conclusions are unavoidable:

(1) Since Mexico has so little capital of her own, every Mexican government and every Mexican revolution of any size must be financed by foreign capital.
(2) Agriculture accounts for so small a part of Mexico's wealth and involves so little foreign capital, that foreign capitalists can well afford to allow the peasants to have the land—provided only that confiscation precedents are not established that could be applied now or later to other forms of capital, such as railways, mines, oil wells and forests.

(3) Agriculture being the only important industry owned by Mexicans, the land is the chief object of the domestic civil war. In so far as the movement is agrarian it is not anti-foreign. And when Carranza and Villa say they are not going to confiscate foreign property, this means practically that only the land is to be restored to the people, while the other 90 per cent. of Mexican wealth is to remain, as at present, largely at the mercy of foreign capital.

(4) But we have not yet come to the real issue. If the constitutionalists win they will control the Mexican government. If it is an honest government, Mexican capitalists, the Mexican government, and perhaps even the Mexican people, will get a large share of the future profit of railways, mines, oil fields, forests, and other resources—even though there is no confiscation. Moreover, foreigners may be heavily taxed, and the present mood of the Mexican people indicates that they will be. At any cost, then, even if it takes half a million American lives, Mexico must be prevented from establishing a popular or even a semi-popular government.

This brings us to an apparent paradox. The land question is the red-herring drawn across the people's path in Mexico. To be sure the people must have the land; feudalism and peonage must be abolished. But let the foreigners control the government, through Carranza, perhaps, or through some compromise candidate, and they will be able to make the most of the two billions' worth of properties they now control, and of other billions they have in view. And when Mexico does develop agriculturally—a process which will be hastened by the division of the large estates—foreign capitalist ownership of railways, banks, factories and stores, and foreign control

Socialism vs. the State.

By EMILE VANDERVELDE.

Member of Belgian Parliament; Chairman, Executive Committee, International Socialist Bureau.

I.

I propose to devote my talk this year to the examination of a single question: Is Socialism for or against the State?

The greater number of our adversaries have no doubt whatever about the question. To them Socialism means simply State Socialism.

BOURGEOIS IDEAS OF SOCIALISM.

For example, take what Leroy-Beaulieu says in his "Treatise on Political Economy": "Individuals and families today take part in a vast number of free and active combinations: diverse associations having the most different intellectual, moral, material, and pecuniary objects. In a Socialist system where the State manages all production, undertakes to relieve misery, and to enlighten all mankind, the individual will have no need to assume any of these varied and benevolent relations. Freed from particular duties toward others, deprived of all initiative by an all-providing and omnipotent State, he will become more than ever human dust."

But what do the Socialists themselves say? Do they also confound Socialism with the State? Is their formula really everything to the State, everything by the State?

WHAT THE SOCIALISTS SAY.

To reply to these questions, the vital importance of which it is unnecessary to emphasise, we will study first of all the idea of the State as conceived by Marx and Engels, the founders of Scientific Socialism. We will then see what it has become with present-day Socialists. To take, at least, certain passages from their writings, Marx and Engels, far from being State Socialists, were decidedly against the State, having for their final goal the abolition of the State, regarding it as the instrument of domination for the master class.

Here is, for example, what Engels says in his "Origins of the Family, Property and the State": "The State does not exist for all eternity. There have been states of society which had no idea of the State or of the authority of the State. When the degrees of economic development made necessary a division of society into classes, that division made the State a necessity. We are coming now with giant strides to a degree of productive development where, not only has the existence of these classes ceased to be necessary, but where they become a positive obstacle to production. The classes will disappear as surely as they have arisen, and with them the State will crumble away. Society will organise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers, and will transport all the machinery of the State to the museum of antiquities, where it will be found side by side with the spinning-wheel and the bronze axe."

Could anything be more precise?

HOW THE STATE CAN BE USED.

How is it, then, that Socialists, and notably Marx and Engels, are represented as partisans of the State?

To understand it we should read some passages from the Communist Manifesto, which do not relate to the final goal of Socialism—the abolition of the State—but to its immediate goal, the conquest of the State. We see, there, that if Marx and Engels wished, with the triumph of Socialism, to banish the machinery of the State to the museum of antiquities, they wished first of all that the workmen should take possession of the machinery, and before putting it aside make use of it for their own benefit. Thus there are passages in the Communist Manifesto which say that once the proletariat are masters of political power, they will institute reforms such as the concentration of credit in the hands of the State, the centralisation of industry and transport in the hands of the State, and the appropriation of ground rents for the expenses of the State.

THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.

These ideas of Marx and Engels on the conquest of political power are repeated to-day with more or less precision and clearness in the declarations of principle of all the parties affiliated to the International.

of the government, will prevent the larger share of the new agricultural wealth from going into the pockets of the agriculturists.—"The New Review."

There are associations and organisations which, while declaring for Socialism, do not accept the above fundamental ideas of the conquest of the State, and of political power by the working classes organised as a political party.

There are, on the one hand, the so-called Socialists such as the "Independents" in France, the "Reformists of the Right" in Italy, the "Liberal-Laborists" of the John Burns type in England, as well as those set out by M. Millerand at St. Mande—these announce themselves as Socialists and advocate the taking over of certain monopolies by the State, but oppose the organisation of the working classes on the basis of the class struggle.

There are, on the other hand, the revolutionary Syndicalists, who, while accepting the class struggle as a basis and seeking the socialisation of the means of production, do not recognise the necessity for political action—i.e., the conquest of political power by the organised working classes.

TENDENCIES IN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

But in the International, in Social-Democracy itself, there are tendencies which resemble more or less both these attitudes. Thus, to obtain in some measure the pure Marxian doctrine we must exclude these tendencies, provisionally, and keep to the doctrine of those who even to-day remain strictly faithful to the idea that Socialists must oppose all State action, all extension of public services, until the working classes have conquered political power.

Their point of view has been very finely explained by Guesde in his booklet, "Public Services and Socialism." As against the Positivists (Brousse or Malon), partisans of the extension of the public services even within the frame of present society, Guesde developed the following thesis:—

"The Revolution first; that is to say, the political and economic expropriation of the capitalist class; the public services afterwards; because only after the fusion of all classes into a single class, that of the producers, will real public services be possible."

STATE SOCIALISM ANTI-PROLETARIAN.

It is unnecessary to say that this Socialism is essentially against the State. Far from seeing in the State ownership of railways, telegraphs, and telephones, mines, insurances or tobacco monopoly a partial realisation of Socialism, or even a step towards Socialism, Guesde and his friends see in similar measures only so many obstacles in the way of working-class organisation and action. Here is in substance the grounds upon which they support their opinion.

First, it is not true that a public property results from the annexation of a private property by the middle-class State. Re-entering into present society the industries do not lose their character of capitalist property—that is to say, property from which the working class is excluded. From the property of such and such capitalist, it becomes property of the whole capitalist class.

In the second place, the extension of public services directly increase the forces of the governing classes. The more the capitalist State annexes industry, the greater the number of individuals who will be interested in its preservation; those who are favored with higher pay and a slightly higher social grade will regard any change as a leap in the dark.

Further, the progress of State ownership would indirectly strengthen the enemy and weaken the working classes by paralysing its movements. Who is less free, in fact, than the State workman? He is refused the right to strike. He is humbugged with respect to his right to belong to a trade union. He is doubly enslaved inasmuch as the capitalist State holds him, not only by the stomach, but by the neck.

We see, with Guesde, as with Marx and Engels, that there is no confusion possible between Socialism and State ownership. They will have nothing to do with the capitalist State, except to fight it. If they wish to master it, it is only that they may abolish it. At most, they would use it during a transitory period of working-class dictatorship.

ARE WE DRIFTING INTO STATE SOCIALISM?

But in democratic countries, at least, everyone knows that the Socialist Parties have discarded, or tend to discard, this extreme attitude. They admit, at the present time, the municipalisation or the nationalisation of certain industries. They advocate the State ownership of railways, mines and monopolised industries in general. They proceed by way of the extension of collectivism rather than by waiting for the Social Revolution.

New Zealand Socialists.

VAG REPLIES TO J.W.R.

Dear Comrade,—

Your open letter is good; the Vag. appreciates goodness—in others. I admit all you say, Comrade, is correct, we do do some funny things both over here and when we come over there. It has been written that the wise men came from the East; I am not sure whether they were wise because they came from the East, I am not sure whether they settled in New Zealand. However, I am sure that a Socialist is a Socialist even if he comes from the West. It is not my mission to defend Bob Semple; it is not my mission to defend any individual; my mission is to make Socialists. I do not wish to discuss Semple, except to say I wish we had ten thousand Semples in this small country. I want to discuss Socialism; I will discuss it with anyone. I am not going to waste time in manufacturing names for those who are trying to do something. Listen, J.W.R. We have on the Statute Book of this country nearly all the fool legislation that our friend Dubb has been asking for for years back. "We urge the Government" used to be the preamble to all our wishes. A few, a small few, now "demand." The few will become many—soon; so soon as we can get them to see the joke. They cannot see it yet, J.W.R., because they are so busy in trying to feed a "monkey" that a Liberal Government has presented to them. Seventy-five per cent. of the workers are keeping these animals quiet on their little spud patches. I do not believe a capitalist party by the name of S.D.P. will come into existence in this country; do you know why, J.W.R.? Well, because the Liberals and the Reformers will steal every plank of the S.D.P. platform; and when the S.D.P.'s have no longer a platform, they will do without. Comrade, don't lose any sleep over the N.Z. S.P. We have written large on our banner "No Compromise." We join hands with our Comrade Liebknecht, and we know that "all who are weary and heavy laden, all who suffer under injustice, all who suffer from the outrages of the existing bourgeois society, all who have in them the feeling of the worth of humanity, look to us, turn hopefully to us, as the only party that can bring rescue and deliverance." Selah!

THE VAG.

MELBOURNE GLASS-BLOWERS.

The craft unionists of the old school are up against a tough proposition in Melbourne. At the Spottwood glass-bottle factory 125 hand glass-blowers are on strike endeavoring to force 25 machine men into the union. The object in view, according to press reports, is to strike against the introduction of more machines into the factory. The 25 machine men have declined to join in an endeavor to save the craftsman's job. It is like a lot of cab-drivers inviting chauffeurs to join in a strike against the motor-waggon and the taxi-cab. The inevitable conclusion of the whole business will be that the masters will introduce the machine throughout the whole industry, and throw the hand workers on to the street, where, when they find the cold, unsympathetic pavement in contact with the most substantial portion of their anatomy, they will have opportunity to reflect on their class position and the operation of our industrial system generally.

Here is a craft which has been entirely undermined by the march of the machine. At one time the glass-blower was a privileged person. His skill acquired by long practice raised him above the level of the common laborer. He could command good wages because if he went on strike he could only be replaced by a trained man. But Mr. Owens, of America, patented the automatic glass-blower, which threw thousands of hand-workers out of work, reducing the number employed to a few engaged in producing side lines. To-day the workers in Melbourne are on the same level as the workers of England, who endeavored to smash the machines which were being introduced at the inauguration of our factory system. They are as ignorant as their efforts to stay the onward march

ing so, we have to ask ourselves not whether there can be now any question of Socialism versus State ownership, but, on the contrary, whether it is not necessary to admit that democratic Socialism is gliding down a dangerous slope, and risks degenerating into State Socialism. (To be continued.)

(Translated from "Le Peuple" by F.D. JUSTICE.

Industrial Notes.

By TAFFY.

The Lib-Lab Government of N.S.W. has pursued the Maitland miners with a vindictiveness that a shrewd man like Cook, or Wade, would have instinctively avoided. The workers will get their fill of arbitration if they keep going long enough. Of course the only alternative is proper industrial organisation, combined with real working-class political action, and the unionists of Australia have not yet developed the grit and the knowledge for this. In politics of a working-class character they are behind the workers of France, Belgium, Italy and Germany.

Even the British worker will have none of Arbitration. His recent turning of attention to union consolidation, as has just taken place between miners, transport workers and railway men is significant. There is no cunning Billy Hughes to side-track the movement on the pretence of "One Big Union," but they have a politician of the name of Havelock Wilson, who may play the part.

With a Federal Arbitration Court Judge telling the Waterside workers that they must accept "the thorns" with "the roses" from the Court, it looks as if the mask is being lifted. The Employing class howls that Arbitration is against the employers every time, but when the Judge talks of thorns it is plain that the Capitalists' cry is mere bluff. Yet it deludes the putty-brained unionist.

Even the "Worker" exposes the untruthfulness of Premier Holman, over the boy immigrant question. The attitude of that wily gentleman,—and the Government which he rules over like an autocrat—toward the Maitland miners, together with his political trickery, which he practises openly, makes it look as if he is trying to get the unionists of the State to repudiate him and give him an excuse for rattling to the other political side. Goodness knows there is no difference that matters between his party and Wade's.

Wade, Holman, Estell, and Griffith are all in brotherly agreement over fining unionists for striking. It is little excuse that the thickheaded unionist agreed to be fined beforehand. He was a fool. But why should his alleged representatives in Parliament take advantage of his foolishness—with vindictiveness and a covert grin?

The glass bottle workers of the Commonwealth are up against it. The automatic machine is about to destroy their craft union and throw its members out among the unemployed. It is a pity that the workers are so slow to recognise that machinery is out to destroy all crafts. If they could see a few yards ahead of their noses they would link up in strong industrial bodies, ready for the time when capitalism will slump with a sickening thud. That time is not far off. Already the British press correspondents of the Australian Capitalist papers hint of trouble in store from the competition of China. When Chinese goods "get going" in the world market there will be chaos—unless the workers are organised and educated.

The engineers of the State are fighting against the non-unionist who is secretly backed up by the employer. So far considerable good has been achieved. True, the engineers are an aristocratic craft that needs educating badly. A bit of industrial action here and there does more educating than years of quiet.

Once the non-members are brought in, consolidation of the engineers' unions should be proceeded with. However, the unionists are so poorly linked up in Sydney that a defeat may be experienced. It would not be the worst thing that could happen for the warring engineers' unions to be smashed. A reorganisation on more up-to-date lines would be sure to follow. Often the defeat of a union, for that reason is the best victory it could gain. Anyhow, the worst thing that can happen to unionism is what the officials of craft unions pray for—peace and quiet.

The trouble is that while strikes are on the unions of Sydney do no educational work. They lead their men out and never tell them that the strike is merely an incident in the great class war ever raging—a war that must be fought out to the bitter end.

of society are futile. When they learn a little they will organise to take control of the machine in the interests of the working class. A machine which does away with the painful and dangerous work of hand glass-blowing is in itself a benefit to society, but its possession by a privileged class—who, by the way, never produced it, but stole it from those who did—means that it is exploited for capitalist profit, and not for working class comfort. It means, in short, that the worker loses his job and the higher development of capitalism means the accentuation of the class struggle and its inevitable culmination in the overthrow of capitalist ownership of the means of production.

—DOMINICUS.

READ THE "INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST"

Because it is written by the workers for the workers. Its columns are filled with articles that affect the welfare of the working class the world over.

The "International Socialist" exists to constantly and fearlessly expose the robbery of labor and the social shams of the present system.

In its columns the canting humbug of the churches is satirised.

The tricks of deceitful politicians are exposed. The hypocrisy of Labor leaders who lie in wait for a chance to climb on the backs of the workers to place and power, is denounced.

In its columns will be found the truth regarding the cause of social evils and the futility of political tinkering.

It carries a message of hope and courage to the dark places where labor is exploited.

It brings greetings and encouragement from comrades in other lands to all who are engaged in the great battle for the economic freedom of the working class.

It stands for the international solidarity of the working class, and preaches the overthrow of nationalism, racial hatred, bogus patriotism, and capitalism.

It is a real live, revolutionary paper for slaves who desire freedom. It will give you a new outlook, life, hope, and vitality.

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Address all communications to the Managing-Editor, and make all Money Orders, etc., payable to him.

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A.S.P. News & Notes.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

Objective.—The social ownership with Democratic control of the means of Production, Distribution and Exchange.

General Secretary: J. W. ROCHE.

Headquarters: 115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

The Administrative Council will meet at Headquarters on Sat. July 25. All delegates are urged to attend.

J. W. ROCHE.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Once again good work has to be reported. Sunday's Domain meeting was well attended. The speakers being Comrades Rudolph, Slade, McArthur and Mrs. Paul. Evening meetings were addressed in Market-St., by Comrades Christopherson, Roche and Mrs. Paul; and in Park-St., by Comrades Denford, McArthur and Rupolph. Comrades are urged to attend the various meetings non-speakers may assist the propaganda by selling papers and literature.

A fine audience assembled in the Hall to hear Comrade Slade lecture on "Experience." The speaker in developing his matter dwelt lengthily upon inventions, these he showed to be simply the result of mans experience; in other words the historic progress of ideas and their application in new ways which arises out of the basic economic factor. Many questions were asked and a lively discussion took place, the speaker answering the various points in a brief but conclusive manner. Comrade Denford acted as chairman during the evening which ended in the singing of the "Red Flag."

The next branch meeting will be held in the Hall (369 Pitt-St.) on Thursday, July 30.

All members are urged to attend, there is plenty to do in the new premises. DON'T SHIRK IT.

The Friday evening Socials are to be continued so turn up and pass a pleasant evening. Comrade Nelson is endeavouring to form a dramatic and musical society. All interested in these things are invited to send their names either to Comrade Nelson or the Secretary. Now Comrades it is up to you to make the new Hall a huge success! You who are considering, are meantime leaving the best time to act—the present—to the enemy, and the work to a few. There will be plenty of Glory for you—if you work for it.

Now is the accepted time—to quote the "Harmy." Tomorrow it will be too late. So make up your mind to do it now.

Sunday Night Lectures 8. p.m. at the Hall.
August 2. Mrs. Paul.
August 9. W. Jackson.

Subject: "Social Evolution."

Luke Jones, Sec.

BRISBANE.

At this period, when a general election is imminent, it is imperative that Socialists should clearly understand what "Labor" stands for. The aim of our lecturer of last Sunday evening was to the end of clarifying the issue. It was the opinion of the good audience which assembled that Comrade Anderson's effort was highly successful. Pitilessly analytical, devoid of oratorical pyrotechnics and calmly critical, our comrade exposed the claim of the Labor Party to be truly representative of working class aspirations. It was born of working class effort, but in its rise to power the spirit of the early movement had faded. It now stood forth as a party, par excellence, of small manufacturers and petite bourgeois generally. Its various legislative achievements demonstrated conclusively its capitalist nature. Many Laborites will admit, said Anderson, that the Labor Party had occasionally left the track, but still their objective was the real goods, and that being so, it was up to Socialists to support them. Even the objective was shown by our Comrade to voice the aspirations, not of the workers, but of a section of employers. We had only to take and analyse the speeches of Labor politicians, and learn their solicitation for "primary producers," to know that the "producers" mentioned in the objective were other than wage-slaves. The lecturer dealt clearly with the State and its functions. He claimed that Socialists should endeavor, not to assist in its extension, as was the aim of Laborites, but to restrict it as much as possible. The State was created to serve the interests of the capitalist class. The Labor Party were mistaken when they said that this great coercive machine could be used in the interests of the workers. Our action on the political field was in the main of a negative nature. It was as Industrialists that we should use our constructive efforts.

GORDON BROWN,

Sec., Brisbane Branch, A.S.P.

MELBOURNE BRANCH, A.S.P.

Owing to the coldness of the weather, no meeting was held on Friday evening, as it would be impossible to get a Melbourne audience to stand and listen, they being used to mild weather generally.

Sunday, however, brought with it ideal propaganda conditions, so that when 3 o'clock came round, Comrades Jeffrey, Anderson, Wilson, Lazarus and Speers were found at their posts, as per usual.

And what a meeting; the largest, the most attentive and enthusiastic, ever addressed by our branch speakers. A feature of the meeting was the able, excellent, and convincing propaganda speech of Comrade N. Anderson, who spoke in public for the second time, and who richly deserved the praise showered upon him for his effort. "More power to his elbow," say all of us. Comrade Anderson, it may be remarked, is one of the products of the speakers' class, held under our auspices.

As to the speakers' class, it is still being held weekly, and provides an opportunity for those desirous of becoming propagandists, as well as furnishing those who are already speakers opportunity of improving. Comrades Rosenthal and Max Szepanski, also members of the class, will in another few weeks take their place on the public platform, and both, I may say, bid fair to become powerful and convincing exponents of Socialism and industrial unionism.

The literature sales for the week were large, but if Comrade Lazarus were rendered a little more assistance in this important branch of our work, the results would be even better. Now then, comrades, you who don't do any speaking, kindly take the hint given; don't ask to be invited to sell literature, simply ask for a supply, and help to dispose of it. One volunteer is worth ten pressed men.

As our paper is getting a bigger circulation from week to week, and as branch reports will undoubtedly be perused by readers, I want in conclusion to ask all unattached Socialists to join. It's no good applauding our speakers, saying what bonzer orators they are, etc., etc., and sitting on the rail. We want every man and woman that agrees with us to fling in their lot with us, as a bigger membership will mean more workers, and more dues—paying members will mean bigger finance, larger finance in its turn will make possible a host of things such as making the meeting of rent for hall an easier matter, as well as giving us a chance of getting out a manifesto (at present being written, and much needed) to clear up all misunderstandings which militate against our branch. Don't delay. Kindly remember procrastination is the thief of time.

J. R. WILSON,
A.S.P. Hall,
47 Victoria-street,
Melbourne.

COOK CAMPAIGN.

In connection with the campaign in Cook Federal electorate, Comrade Everitt reports that good meetings were held last week, but speakers are badly needed to assist.

Received for campaign fund: Mrs. Paul £1, by collections 18s. 4d., Sale of Literature 1s. 6d., Leeds, Thirroul, 5s., W.R.W. 2s., Kilburn 2s. 6d., total £2 9s. 4d.

THE INTERNATIONAL POSTBAG.

Dear Comrade,—
Enclosed is a small P.N. to help keep our one and only going. I would also like the privilege of a small grouch. It's like this, I have been getting my "I.S." from a newsagent, but for the last four weeks they haven't received their order at all, so have been unable to supply myself or others. I was fairly successful in getting it from other sources, but last week I had to go without, as when I arrived at the V.S.P. Sunday evening lecture they had sold out, and I heard several others enquire for it. After the lecture was over I took the trouble to walk up to the rooms of the A.S.P., and here again was met with the same tale, sold out. Now see if you can't alter this state of affairs. I and others want the paper; no supply. You are asking for an increased circulation—may you get it, but it certainly won't come about without some better arrangements. Accept this as it is given in hearty goodwill and a deep desire to see the paper go. It's the one star in Australia.

Yours fraternally,

C.

C. voices an easily remedied plaint. All who want the paper regularly can have it posted to any address for 1/- per quarter, 2/- per half year, or 4/- per year. If it is inconvenient to have it posted to where you live, it can be posted to any Post Office, to be called for. Regarding the agents, a lot of the small ones have been dropped, as they did not pay and involved too much loss. When we paid postage and allowed for returns we lost in these agencies, and just at present we cannot afford to lose—we are too hard pressed. We want to be paid for what we send out, so that income and expenditure may be made to meet. The paper is cheap at the price charged for it, and if we were paid for every copy there would be no profit in it. Even under the revised arrangements, with all waste eliminated, and the most careful management, we are up against financial pressure all the time. A few assist manfully with donations to the Press Fund, but the majority take no part in the sacrifice that has to be made to keep a fighting Socialist paper going. However, we didn't intend to grumble, but to thank C. for his donation, and also to explain how the paper can be had regularly.



Preamble of the Industrial workers of the World.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organisation of the working class without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the concentrating of the management of industry into fewer and fewer hands make trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class because the trades union foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions and the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

BOOKS IN CLOTH BINDING.

Title.	Price s. d.
Ancient Lowly, The, Vol. I, C. Osborne	8 0
Ancient Lowly, The, Vol. II, C. Osborne	8 0
Capital, Vol. I, Karl Marx	8 0
Capital, Vol. II, Karl Marx	8 0
Capital, Vol. III, Karl Marx	8 0
Ancient Society, Lewis H. Morgan	6 0
Woman and Socialism, August Bebel	6 0
Critique of Political Economy, Karl Marx	4 0
Debs (Eugene V.), His Life, Writings, Speeches	4 0
Economic Determinism, Lida Parco	4 0
Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, Antonio Labriola	4 0
Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of Karl Kautsky	4 0
Introduction to Sociology, Arthur M. Lewis	4 0
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, Engels	4 0
Looking Forward, Philip Rappaport	4 0
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Positive Outcome of Philosophy, Joseph Dietzgen	4 0
Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, M. H. Fitch	4 0
Positive School of Criminology, Enrico Ferri	4 0
Poverty of Philosophy, The, Karl Marx	4 0
Principles of Scientific Socialism, Vail	4 0
Socialism and Modern Science, Enrico Ferri	4 0
Socialism and Philosophy, Antonio Labriola	4 0
Theoretical System of Karl Marx, Boudin	4 0
Evolution of Man, The, Wilhelm Boelsche	2 0
Evolution of Property, The, Paul Lafargue	2 0
Evolution, Social and Organic, Arthur M. Lewis	2 0
Feuerbach, Frederick Engels	2 0
Germ of Mind in Plants, R. H. Franco	2 0
Life and Death, Dr. E. Teichmann	2 0
halm Meyer	2 0
Marx, Memoirs of, Wilhelm Liebknecht	2 0
Marx versus Tolstoy, Lewis and Darrow	2 0
Militant Proletariat, The, Austin Lewis	2 0
Origin of the Family, Frederick Engels	2 0
Puritanism, Clarence Melly	2 0
Russian Bastille, The, Simon O. Pollock	2 0
Sabotage, Emile Pouget	2 0
Science and Revolution, Ernest Untermann	2 0
Social and Philosophical Studies, Paul Lafargue	2 0

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Topical Tattle.

No man can serve two masters faithfully, and no Government can serve two sections of the populace as wide apart in general principles as the employing and working classes; and a man, or Government, who asserts that he, or they, can serve both, or all alike, is either suffering from idiocy, or is a deliberate liar. The Liberal Government contends that it serves the interests of the whole people!

History repeats itself. The State Government has agreed to purchase a farm near the Emu Plains Railway Station, on which prisoners will grow vegetables to supply the Government institutions. Years ago the land all round this district was tilled by the unfortunate convicts, some of whose descendants are "big peas" in the community to-day.

The consistency of the "Herald." In a leaderette it says that the airman, Guillaux's, actual flying time was only six hours for a journey of almost 600 miles. In another column it says he covered the distance in a little over nine hours!

The London Institute of Journalists has appealed to the Wesleyan Conference, sitting at Leeds, against the unfair competition of certain persons reporting for the press. The sky-pilot business is evidently in a bad way when the pilots desert the trade for others more lucrative—politics, for instance.

Reports state that fathers hand over their daughters on the Bolivian rubber plantations to anyone offering money; and that women there are sold like animals. The horrors revealed in connection with the production of rubber in Africa and South America are nauseating, and promotes the question: "Do not similar things occur in other industries than that of rubber raising?" Traders in the Islands could tell a tale or two, as well as the missionaries, but it wouldn't pay.

The greatest curse our young country has had, and has to bear, is the land speculator. He is worse than the whole ten plagues of Egypt rolled into one lump. What Government is courageous enough to shift him?

The "Telegraph" says: "As the entrance fee to the (Musicians') Union has been fixed at 20 guineas, very few people but musicians will be able to join." Quite so; there are no craftsmen outside musicians who earn enough salary to enable them to scratch up the required entrance fee—except imported editors.

Even soldiers are of some use, 200 of them in Germany having been turned out to fight—not an English, French or Russian army, but a plague of Colorado beetles. Their services in this direction are of infinitely more value than in endeavoring to put bullets into as many of their fellow beings as they can, and with whom they could have no personal squabble.

The Tory press write bitterly of the so-called tyranny of unionism, but they never decry the tyrannical methods adopted by the British Medical Association. But there's wheels within wheels, our Christian friends; and then, the B.M.A. is not a common slaughterhouse union, although the professions are all the same, only different.

F.M.